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ABSTRACT

The objective of this volume (findings of the first 2 phases of a 4 phase research program) was to develop hypotheses (to be tested in future Federal youth programs) about the critical variables affecting the social and occupational adjustment of rural youth of Spanish surname. Some 59 hypotheses were derived from a literature survey, supplemented by personal interviews with Chicano and Anglo leaders in the rural Southwest, Chicano experts, Chicanos of all ages, and persons familiar with problems of migrating Chicano youth (rural to urban). Factors surveyed and examples of hypothesis topics included: the changing rural economic environment (declining need for agricultural workers creates unemployment problems for Chicanos, as 50 percent work in blue collar and agricultural jobs); characteristics of Chicano youth (low standard IQ scores, low occupational aspirations and expectations, low self concept); the education system (few teachers with adequate knowledge of cultural factors or bilingual programs, migrant youth segregation, etc.); response of rural Chicano youth to educational system (vocational rather than academic orientation, high dropout rates due to feelings of inferiority, need for money, etc.); rural to urban migration (successful adjustment requires English language facility, achievement orientation, education, etc.). (JC)

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PERSPECTIVES OF ADJUSTMENT: RURAL CHICANO YOUTH

This is Volume 1 of a four volume Final Report on a program of research conducted under Contract No. 41-2-002-27.

by

William P. Henry and Guy H. Miles

to

MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

from

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16. Abstract

This volume presents the findings of the first two phases of a four-phase research program. The objective of these phases was to develop hypotheses about the critical variables affecting the social and occupational adjustment of rural youth with Spanish surnames. In developing these hypotheses, a survey was made of the literature written about Spanish-surname youth. The literature survey was supplemented with personal interviews with leaders of the Chicano and Anglo communities in the Rural Southwest, with persons who are considered experts on Chicano youth, with Chicanos of all ages, and with persons familiar with problems of Chicano youth who migrate from rural to urban areas. The diverse information which was obtained is summarized in this volume.

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Finally, and most important, we must thank all the people who took the time to talk with us about rural Spanish-surname youth.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY	1
General Design	1
Reports	2
SUMMARY	5
Introduction	5
The Changing Rural Environment of the Southwest	5
Economic Environment	6
Characteristics of Chicano Youth	7
The Education System in the Rural Southwest	7
Response of Rural Spanish-Surname Youth to the Educational System	9
Rural to Urban Migration	9
Hypothesis Development	11
INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME I	13
THE CONTEXT OF THE STUDY	15
A Definition of "Rural"	15
The Definition of Spanish Surname	17
Where the Spanish-Surname Population Lives	19
Selection of the Counties to be Studied	21
PART I -- THE CHANGING RURAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE SOUTHWEST	23
Population Trends	23
Social and Cultural Environment	25
Cultural Beliefs and Practices	25
Family Structure	26
Discrimination and Segregation from Anglo Society	29
Economic Environment	35
Availability of Jobs	35
Income and Standard of Living	40
Occupational Status	42
PART II -- RURAL SPANISH-SURNAME YOUTH IN THE SOUTHWEST AND THEIR EDUCATION	45
Characteristics of Rural Spanish-Surname Youth in the Southwest	45

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

	Page
Intelligence Test Scores	45
Motivation and Self-Image	46
The Educational System of the Rural Southwest	47
The Language Barrier	47
General Quality of the Rural Educational System	48
The Teachers	50
Curriculum	51
Counseling	53
Response of Rural Spanish-Surname Youth to the Educational System	54
Attitudes and School Performance	54
Dropouts	55
PART III -- RURAL-TO-URBAN MIGRATION	59
Factors Related to Migration	59
Social Adjustment to Rural-to-Urban Migrants	63
Occupational Adjustment of Rural-to-Urban Migrants	69
BIBLIOGRAPHY	73

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

General Design

The goal of this research program has been to investigate the occupational adjustment of ethnic minority youth in the rural Southwest and to develop programs to optimize that adjustment. The research focused on Spanish-surname youth and Navajo and Papago Indian youths in rural counties in the states of Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado and California. The study design is similar to that of previous studies conducted for the Manpower Administration in the North Central states and in the Southwest.

Originally, the design for the research for both the Spanish-surname youth and for the Indian youth was to follow four phases. In the first phase, a review of relevant scientific literature was conducted to determine the kinds of problems faced by rural youths in the Southwest. In the second phase a large number of intensive interviews were conducted with leaders of rural communities in the Southwest; with Navajo and Papago tribal leaders; with individuals concerned with the education, employment, and well-being of ethnic minority youths in the Southwest; and with Anglo, Spanish-surname, Navajo and Papago youths and their parents.

The result of the first two phases for each group of youths was a broad discussion of the problems faced by the youths and some discussion of potential solutions to these problems. In addition, a large number of hypotheses concerning factors that affected the occupational adjustment of these rural youths were generated from the literature reviewed, the interviews, and previous research experience with rural youths in other regions of the nation. The objective of Phase 3 was to test these hypotheses by following up representative samples of Chicano youths, of Navajo youths, and of Papago youths who had grown up in rural parts of the Southwest. In Phase 4, the results of this follow-up study were to be combined with information from the literature and from the interviews to form the basis of guidelines which would be developed for model youth programs for these populations.

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The research covering Spanish-surname rural youth was conducted essentially as described above. However the response rate of the Navajo and Papago youths in our sample was insufficient to allow tests of hypotheses.

Early in the study, during the Phase 2 interviews with tribal leaders, there were indications that the Indian youths might not cooperate in the Phase 3 follow-up study. This contingency had been discussed with Department of Labor officials prior to North Star's undertaking the Phase 1 survey, and it was decided that should insufficient response occur, an attempt would be made to develop a model program for Indian youths on the basis of only the literature and the interview results. Of course, this model for the Indian Youth Program is not as rigorous as would be one based on empirical data; it is less specific and precise than might be desirable.

Reports

Results of the literature survey for each group of youths were published previously in two reports submitted to the Manpower Administration:

Belding, Nancye, William F. Henry, and Guy B. Miles, "A Survey of the Literature Relevant to Spanish-surname Rural Youths in the Southwestern States" (1972).

Schneider, William S., Nancye Belding and Guy B. Miles, "a Survey of the Literature Relevent to Indian Rural Youth in the Southwestern States" (1972).

Results of the other phases are reported in the four volumes of the present report:

Vol. 1 "Perspectives on Adjustment: Rural Chicano Youth". This volume reports the interview information regarding rural Spanish-surname youth.

Vol. 2 "Perspectives on Adjustment: Rural Navajo and Papago Youth". This volume reports the interview information regarding Navajo and Papago youths.

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Vol. 3 "An Analysis of the Occupational Adjustment of Spanish-Surname Youth from the South-West". This volume reports the empirical data on rural Chicano youths.

Vol. 4 "A Model Porgram for Ethnic Minority Youth in the Southwest". This volume contains the guidelines for model rural youth programs, developed on the basis of the research.

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SUMMARY

Introduction

This volume presents the findings of the first two phases of a four-phase research program. The objective of these phases was to develop hypotheses about the critical variables affecting the social and occupational adjustment of rural youth with Spanish surnames. In developing these hypotheses, we surveyed the literature written about Spanish-surname youth. The literature survey was supplemented with personal interviews with leaders of the Chicano and Anglo communities in the Rural Southwest, with persons who are considered experts on Chicano youth, with Chicanos of all ages, and with persons familiar with problems of Chicano youth who migrate from rural to urban areas. The diverse information which was obtained is summarized in this volume.

The Changing Rural Environment of the Southwest

Three mobility patterns are characteristic of the rural Spanish-surname population in the Southwest: emigrating from Mexico; following the harvests; and moving from rural areas, small towns and villages to small metropolitan centers and major urban areas.

Although there is general agreement in the literature about the past values and traditions of the Mexican folk culture, little agreement exists about the present strength of these traditions among either urban or rural youth. Some authors believe that traditional values are held most strongly in rural areas; others report that both urban and rural Spanish-surname youth are rapidly adopting Anglo values. Most sources agree that the nuclear family remains a strong cohesive unit; however, there is disagreement about the strength of the traditional extended family. Migration to urban areas is generally regarded as a factor in weakening ties to the extended family.

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Unemployment rates are high among Mexican-Americans. Chicanos who are employed are overrepresented in the lower-paying blue-collar and agricultural jobs and underrepresented in high-status, high-paying jobs. As recently as 1960, nearly half of the employed Spanish-surname persons were working in the occupational classification of "agriculture, forestry and fishing". Authors state that since then there has been a decline in opportunities for agricultural employment.

Characteristics of Chicano Youth

Various studies report that Chicano children consistently score below the mean on standard IQ tests. Explanations for the difference in IQ scores focus on difficulty with the English language, different cultural values, and children's reaction to teacher expectations. One study of perceptual motor development of rural Chicano youth found that they were behind the normative patterns as they progressed through school.

Some writers believe that aspiration levels are rising among Chicano youth; they attribute this rise to urbanization. Others say that although rural Chicano youth have high occupational aspirations, their occupational expectations are lower than those of Anglo youths.

Mexican-American children, particularly those born in the United States, are reported to have feelings of inferiority. Various causes have been suggested, particularly the implications in school that the Spanish language and culture are inferior. Several authors indicate that the normal identity search of the adolescent is exacerbated for the Chicano youth whose aspirations may differ significantly from those of his parents or his teachers.

The Education System in the Rural Southwest

Many authors criticize what they report as the repressive approach of schools to the Chicano child's bilingualism. They state that when the use of the Spanish language is discouraged or forbidden, the child becomes

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literate in neither Spanish nor English. Some writers point out that mastery of one's native language is essential to adequate learning of a second language. Many authors cite detrimental psychological effects resulting from the implication that one's language is inferior. It is generally agreed that bilingual education programs and the teachers who are qualified to teach them are rare.

Authors forcibly report that schools are not prepared to receive the child at his own experiential level, and that the teachers have inadequate knowledge about the Mexican-American child and his culture. Efforts to integrate the Spanish cultural heritage into the curricula are seen as superficial.

Migrant children are reported to have special problems in school. School attendance laws are seldom enforced. Migrant children who do attend school may be segregated into separate classes. Many interview respondents suggest that education of rural Chicano youth would be substantially improved by increased expenditures and by smaller student/teacher ratios.

Very little has been written about teachers of rural Chicano children. One study reported that teachers had little awareness of the cultural factors affecting the behavior of the Spanish-surname child, and that teacher assignment to a Mexican-American district was regarded as punishment. Another writer stated that most teachers are aware of sociocultural differences; however, a teacher's awareness may be based on stereotypes, and may be inapplicable to the children in his class. Another study reported that Chicano children are severely segregated by school district and that Mexican-Americans are underrepresented among teachers and school board members.

Although the literature is generally critical of the curricula offered to Mexican-American children, there is little agreement about what these should be. Several writers have urged that school districts develop curricula that are more attuned to the actual backgrounds and aspirations of the Mexican-American students.

Existing counseling programs are generally considered detrimental to the academic aspirations of Chicano youth. Two studies reported that the encouragement given the Chicano youth was believed to be less than that given the Anglo, and that Chicano youth are usually guided into vocational rather than academic programs.

Response of Rural Spanish Surname Youth to the Educational System

Authors differ on the reasons for the orientation of Chicano youth toward vocational rather than academic programs in school. Some suggest that vocational programs are considered more relevant or less difficult. Others believe that attitudes toward academic education are less favorable than those of Anglos, or that Chicano students lack confidence in their ability to succeed in school.

A recent article reported that nearly half of the Chicano girls and over half of the Chicano boys do not continue in school beyond the eighth grade. Many authorities note that the dropout rate is higher in rural areas than in urban areas, particularly for the migrant children who quit school to work in the fields with their parents. Younger Mexican-Americans are, however, more likely to have completed high school than are the older persons.

One problem which contributes to the dropout rate is thought to be the reluctance of school authorities to invest in education which might lead to outmigration and a reduced local labor supply. Many persons who were interviewed suggested other reasons for the high dropout rate: troubles at home, need for money, discrimination in school, feelings of academic inferiority, repetition of grades resulting in Chicanos being over-age for their class, and lack of enforcement of labor laws.

Rural to Urban Migration

The Spanish-surname population has become as urbanized as the Anglo population. Several writers state that the lack of employment forces rural

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Hypothesis Development

Information from the many sources referred to in this volume was used to generate hypotheses about factors that may affect the occupational and social adjustment of rural Spanish-surname youth. Results of the tests of those hypotheses are reported in Volume 3.

0017

INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME I

This volume presents the findings of the first two phases of a four-phase research program concerned with Spanish-surname youths who grow up in the rural parts of the Southwest. The objective of the first two phases was to develop hypotheses about what variables significantly affect the social and occupational adjustment of these rural youths with Spanish surnames.* These hypotheses were later tested in Phase 3; the information derived from this empirical testing was then used in Phase 4 to develop guidelines for a model youth program for this population.

To develop the hypotheses, we surveyed the extensive literature that has been written recently about Spanish-surname youth, and supplemented this survey with a large number of personal interviews. We interviewed community leaders of both Chicano and Anglo extraction in the rural Southwest; we interviewed people who have a national reputation as experts on the subject of Spanish-surname youth; we interviewed a broad spectrum of Spanish-surname people of all ages; and we interviewed people in the cities who are familiar with the problems of Spanish-surname youth who migrate to urban areas from rural areas.

There is not much agreement among these sources concerning the influence that various factors have on the future of a Spanish-surname rural youth. This report merely summarizes the often diverse beliefs expressed in the literature and in our interviews.

*See the section of this report entitled "The Definition of Spanish-Surname".

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THE CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

A Definition of "Rural"

The U. S. Census divides the rural population into two categories -- farm and nonfarm. The "rural farm" population consists of persons living in a rural area on a place of 10 or more acres from which yearly farm product sales amount to $50 or more, or on places of less than 10 acres from which yearly farm product sales are $250 or more. All other residents, including those who live in towns of 2500 or less, are "rural nonfarm".

In our research in rural areas, however, we have found that the Census definition is not adequate, sociologically, for two reasons. In the first place, towns of 2500 or less population may be suburbs, or close enough to take on the character, of large urban areas. In the second place, some towns of more than 5000 population are located in areas whose economy is largely based on agriculture. The inhabitants of these towns think of themselves as rural residents and their activities are largely rural in character.

We have therefore adopted as our definition of a "rural" county: a county in which no towns have over 5000 population or in which 60 percent or more of the population live in towns of 2500 or less.

p. 14 Clark

The Definition of Spanish Surname

The 1970 Census of Population defines persons of Spanish heritage in a variety of ways: as "Persons of Spanish language"; as "Persons of Puerto Rican birth or parentage"; as "Persons of Spanish Surname"; and as "Persons of Spanish origin or descent". In five Southwestern states this population is identified as "Persons of Spanish language or Spanish surname".

Various writers have used a number of different terms to describe persons of Spanish or Mexican descent; these include such terms as "Spanish-American", "Mexican-American", "Latin", "Latin-American", "Hispano" and (more recently) "LaRaza" or "Chicano"[20,26,47,104]. Chicano is the term most often used among young people and people involved in activist movements[20,40,47,104]; Mexican-American is the most frequently used term in the writings surveyed. In this report, the terms "Spanish surname", "Chicano" and "Mexican-American" will be used interchangeably.

It is often difficult to identify persons of Spanish descent because many members of this population have intermarried with members of other populations -- mainly with Indians and Anglos. Thus, use of the Spanish language as the mother tongue or appearance of one's surname on the list of Spanish surnames compiled by the Immigration and Naturalization Service is the only practical method of identifying persons of Spanish origin. It is probably impossible, however, except for those who are recent immigrants from Mexico, to say with any degree of certainty that a given person is of Spanish or of Mexican descent.

0020

Where the Spanish-Surname Population Lives

About 12 percent of the people living in the five southwestern states of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas are persons of Spanish surname. The range is from 9 percent in Colorado and California to 28 percent in New Mexico. The largest numbers of Spanish-surname population in the Southwest live in California and Texas. Most of the Spanish-surname residents of Arizona, California or Texas are migrant workers; Spanish-surname residents of New Mexico and Colorado are more likely either to own small pieces of land on which they have traditionally herded sheep, or to be employed in a rural occupation, such as mining or railroad work.

Many of the Mexican-Americans of Texas live in urban regions, particularly in San Antonio (which is located just above the southern tip of the state) and El Paso. Much of Texas is industrialized, yet the rich Rio Grande Valley along the southern and western borders is an area of large-scale mechanized agriculture, worked by many migrant laborers.

Most of the Spanish-surname residents of California live in the southern part of the state; they are heavily concentrated in urban Los Angeles. The rich agricultural regions all along the central and southern Pacific coastal valley depend, for the most part, upon a force of about 200,000 agricultural laborers -- especially the areas where large grape vineyards and fruit orchards are located.

0021

Selection of the Counties to be Studied

In selecting the sample of counties to be studied we used a stratified sampling method described by Kish*. All rural counties in the five Southwestern states that had 10 percent or more Spanish-surname population were stratified on the basis of: percent Spanish-surname population in 1960, percent Mexican-American population in 1960, and population density. Fourteen counties were then selected randomly, in such a manner that they are a representative cross section, with respect to these three measures, of all rural counties with 10 percent or more Spanish-surname population in these five states. In addition, four small cities of between 10,000 and 25,000 population were selected (on the basis of percent Spanish-surname population and distance of 60 miles or less from a city of 100,000 or more population) as controls.

The counties selected are:

- Gila, Arizona
- Graham, Arizona
- Conejos, Colorado
- Crowley, Colorado
- Lake, Colorado
- Mora, New Mexico
- Sierra, New Mexico
- Castro, Texas
- Gonzales, Texas
- Jeff Davis, Texas
- Jim Hogg, Texas
- Medina, Texas
- Starr, Texas
- Upton, Texas

The small cities are:

- Merced, California
- Madera, California
- Lamesa, Texas
- Bay City, Texas

*Kish, Leslie, Survey Sampling, John Wiley & Sons, pp. 488-95 (1965).

PART I -- THE CHANGING RURAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE SOUTHWEST

Population Trends

Throughout the Southwest the small towns and villages are losing large numbers of their Spanish-surname population, who are moving to small metropolitan centers and major urban areas. The rural population is dwindling and becoming increasingly dispersed[22,40,93]. According to census figures, in 1960 79 percent of all persons of Spanish surname in the southwestern states were living in urban areas[22,40,47,78,104,116]. Of these areas, Los Angeles, California, El Paso, Texas and San Antonio, Texas, each had more than 100,000 Spanish-surname residents. Large numbers of Spanish-surname residents also live in the counties in which the following large cities are located -- Brownsville, Corpus Christi, Houston, and Laredo, Texas; Albuquerque, New Mexico; Phoenix, Arizona; San Diego and San Francisco, California[40].

Especially in rural areas, the fertility rate of Spanish-surname persons is very high[40,58,105]. This has resulted in a very young population in terms of median age, especially for persons of native parentage, and in a very high dependency ratio[40,58,99]. Urban or rural, the average Mexican-American is very young -- about nineteen. Heller[47] estimates the number of Mexican-American youth in the Southwest between the ages of 15 and 19 to be about 300,000.

Emigrating from Mexico, following the harvests, and moving to the cities are the three principal patterns of mobility that are characteristic of the rural Spanish-surname population in the Southwest.

It is difficult to determine the actual number of migrant laborers in the Southwest. According to one source, most migrant families have a home base, generally in rural Texas, Arizona, or California; but they will often leave their homes in the spring and not return until fall. This is

particularly true in Texas, where some rural towns may have populations of around 2000 in January and of only 10 or 20 in July[60]. According to one estimate, in Texas alone in 1961, 15,000 children did not complete their schooling because of this migration[61].

This information leads to two hypotheses:

1. Most rural youth of Spanish-surname move away from their home counties within three years after high school graduation.

2. Of the rural youth of Spanish-surname who move away from their home county, the majority move to large metropolitan areas.

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Social and Cultural Environment

Cultural Beliefs and Practices

Many literature sources refer to the persistence of the values and traditions of the Mexican folk culture among Mexican-Americans, particularly in rural areas. These beliefs and practices can be roughly summarized as follows:

- Persistence in the use of the Spanish language among family and friends[44,75,101,126] as an expression of loyalty to "LaRaza".

- Strictly defined masculine and feminine roles with an emphasis upon manliness (or "machismo") and dominance in males and domesticity and submissiveness in females[16,18,44,47,48,50,73,80,97].

- A pervasive religious philosophy extending to all facets of life and emphasizing submission to the will of God[16,18,26,44,47,73,74,75,95,97,108].

- An emphasis upon "being" as opposed to "doing", or upon what a person is in relation to others rather than upon what he has achieved[16,18,29,37,47,48,73,108,126,133].

Grebler and other recent writers[26,40,46,94] have suggested that the present generation are displaying values and aspirations quite unlike the traditional ones. Many writers say that today's youth are becoming acculturated to Anglo values. This trend is usually related to urbanization, but there appears to be some indication that rural youth may be changing as well[94]. However, there is no general agreement in the literature about the extent to which rural Chicano youth today adhere to the values of the Mexican folk culture.

The interview responses indicate the importance of many of the traditional values, particularly in contrast to what is assumed to be

the Anglo value orientation. For example, A Chicano employment counselor in Los Angeles said:

> "In the home, what is rewarded is honesty or goodness. It's not like in school [where] it doesn't matter if you're honest or how you get there. If you have to step on someone it doesn't matter. The system doesn't care how you get there as long as you get there. It's practicality in school, production! Whereas in the home it is more of a being rather than doing.
>
> "Competition; there are a lot of them where there is no room [for them because they aren't able to compete. That is just possibly outside their reach, so that their goal is to find an 'existence' type job. They're not out to compete."

Chicano youth often hold values and attitudes which differ from those of their parents. A college student in Texas said:

> "My father . . . didn't think it was possible. He never once said, 'Look, man, maybe you can go to college'. He never once said it. Neither did my mother. She was so thankful we got out of high school, she didn't know what to do. That is the way most of the parents are. Most of them have elementary education. That is why kids have to be made aware that there is a bigger world out there."

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Family Structure

There is some difference of opinion in the literature regarding the extent to which the extended family retains importance for rural Mexican-Americans today. Some writers[11,37,47,55,104] maintain that extended family relations still retain greater importance among Chicanos than they do among Anglos. Others[37,97,108] believe that the nuclear family is the usual living unit today, and that the loosening of family ties is essentially the result of economic necessity or of a more general breakdown in the ethnic social system. However, most authors[22,37,40,97,108] agree that the cohesiveness of the nuclear family unit itself remains quite strong.

Similarly, the interviews indicate a difference of opinion on this matter. Many interviewees emphasized the importance of close family ties. For example, a caseworker in New Mexico said:

> "This is one thing that I can say in terms of the Mexican-American, Spanish-American; they take much better care of their old people. You don't have people that are all alone. There's usually always someone. Maybe they can't take care of them financially but they take care of them emotionally; and this is important."

Several of those who were interviewed suggested that these close family ties keep young rural Chicanos from joining the rural-to-urban migration stream. The director of a training program in Texas said:

> "A lot of them stay here and do nothing, you know. I mean they don't want to go away from home. It seems that the families are pretty well together. You don't want to leave your papa, you don't want to leave your mama and you stay here. I mean that's the way that I look at it. I mean they don't want to go to San Antonio, don't want to go to Chicago to get a good job because they don't want to leave their fathers and mothers."

Even among those young Chicanos who do leave their home communities, family ties remain strong. The migrants make frequent trips home to visit parents and other family members. A Chicano college student described his home town in Texas during a holiday:

> "Wherever you look you see cars from other states . . . people that have come to visit their parents . . . even if they don't have enough money to come. They don't care -- they'd rather come here to visit their parents than do anything else. The Mexican does not save much money, but if he has money to come he spends it because he gives emphasis to spiritual things rather than to the material ones."

There were, of course, other views of these family ties expressed in the interviews. For example, a high school counselor in a small town in Texas said:

"We find almost every kid up here gives us trouble. He has no home life. The daddy is running, the mother is running. Again, no [one] race is involved . . . all races. You go right back to their home life and that's where the trouble is. Neither parent is ever home, not with different mates. Kids left by themselves."

Other interviews indicated that the strength of the traditional family ties is diminished in an urban environment. An employment counselor in Los Angeles said:

"This whole thing of individualism. The Chicano family likes to think of itself as depending on each other, being on call for one another. Whereas here the reward is for the person who goes out on their own. And this is where the hang-ups come in, even for those that succeed. I went through that; I became functional, and I am not so sure that that is what I want. I see what has been lost as a result of it. I'm not sure it's worth it.

"I counseled a long time in the high school and I would say about 30 percent of the kids had no communication with their parents. Maybe just functional communication. They spoke English and the parents spoke Spanish. Up to that point there was no communication. Parents are having a nonexistent role. Even before the kid is 18 he is forced to know what he wants to do by the time he is out of junior high. His parents are just there to sign for him until he is old enough."

A worker in a migrant program in Denver said:

"I think [the older generation] looks at the kids as being radical. They don't understand them. The older people that are the first generation that came to the city, they don't understand and can't cope with their kids. They become passive in a lot of ways. One thing about the city, in Denver it is easier for a woman than a man to get a job. With the AFDC laws as they were up until about 3 years ago, for them to survive they could not have a man in the house, so a lot of women have learned to do it on their own.

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> The man is some place else. Not in the household. The mother is the bread winner. She can't cope with the kids any more. She might have some cultural ideas or values; but she is busy working and the kids have to fend for themselves."

Discrimination and Segregation from Anglo Society

Many authors have reported persistent discrimination against Mexican-Americans in employment, place of residence, schooling, and the administration of justice. Grebler[40] found that Chicanos experience less residential segregation in urban areas than Negroes do; however, there is still a high level of segregation between Mexican-Americans and Anglos. Gonzalez[37] and Hayden[44] note that little discrimination is experienced by those who adopt the Anglo culture to the exclusion of their own. Leonard and Johnson[58] associated the "tendency to remain Spanish-speaking" with "barriers" to educational, social and economic advancement, and added that the nature of migrant employment particularly makes finding "adequate living accommodations difficult".

Various types of discrimination against Chicanos were described in the interviews. For example, the chairman of a school board in South Texas said:

> "They [the educators] tell them all the Mexicans are labor workers. They don't show professionals. Everything they show is Gringo. The books all have pictures of the Gringos. There isn't one Mexican. There aren't any of their values or cultures in the books. It is like if you were in a world of only Gringos with those books. So that is how we start having complexes; complexes that are not worth having. And you get to junior high and begin making social contacts. Then the guys discover women and the women discover the men and that is when you realize that you are a Mexican, because you can't get close to the Anglos or Gringas."

A high school teacher in New Mexico said:

> "There was a time in New Mexico, and there still is, where there is this feeling that if you speak Spanish you are just not quite as good as the people who speak English, to put it real simply."

A college student from Texas spoke of the efforts of his high school principal to change the school:

> "The majority of the people are against him now because he has made some innovations. For example, in the election procedure for cheerleaders, there is going to be a black cheerleader, a Mexican-American cheerleader and there is going to be five Anglos, which is fairly proportional, but they wanted all seven [to be] Anglo cheerleaders, because some of their daughters weren't going to be cheerleaders. Now some Anglos are saying that they aren't going to play football if there is going to be a black and a Chicano cheerleader."

An NYC counselor in Texas said:

> "Racial prejudice? Quite a large problem. Kids try to suppress it but it is there, it is definitely here to a great extent. The minorities to a large extent are very much exploited here. Of course, that is another frustration [for] the kids. They know it, they are very aware of this. But it is like, you know, being in a paper bag and not being able to punch your way out. What do you do for it? Things like, you know, just like at Valentine time, they have an annual high school sweetheart what-not. And we work with a group here doing tutoring, programming . . . and the kids came in all worked up one day. They were sure that their candidate which was Mexican-American, should have had the most votes. But some of these votes were thrown away, you know, because we couldn't have a Mexican-American queen at our sweetheart dance. How would that look? It comes out, always, in ways like that. We haven't had any gang wars or walkouts, stuff like that; but it's there, very much so, between the kids as well as the adults."

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Probably the area of discrimination that is most germane to the current report is discrimination in employment. An employment counselor in Denver said:

> "We couldn't get them a job in rural areas. We have tried. They've got these big automobile dealers. But they won't hire our people."

And a community organizer in San Antonio said:

> "A qualified Mexican professional with a college degree is probably employed, can probably get a job anywhere he goes. But if you are talking about a guy who has three years of college, or just high school, competing with a Gringo, the Gringo gets it. They won't hire a Mexican."

Thus, it is hypothesized that:

> 3. More Spanish-surname youth than comparable non-Spanish-surname youth report feelings of discrimination, and difficulty in finding a job because of discrimination.

There was, however, some indication in the interviews that discrimination against Chicanos was on the ebb. For example, a Chicano secretary in Texas said:

> "Discrimination has been one of the biggest problems, I think. Today there is still some of it, but not as much as when we went to school. We were not mixed with the Anglos. When my husband was going to school here, they were separated in one little school. When I was going to school, we had just one teacher who wasn't even certified. But all of this today has changed. My children maybe will not feel as I do. We still feel a little resentment towards them that we have to fight. We can't help it because we were discriminated [against] so much. We saw a lot of it. My husband even feels stronger. He is older than I. He was subject to a lot more of it. He was thrown out of a restaurant because he is a Mexican. He was told not to sit next to somebody. All this sort of thing. He feels very strongly about this.
>
> "There is still some of it; I'm not saying there is none. Like I say, we are trying to teach our children differently. You know, to get along, mainly; not to resent somebody because of their color, or their religion, or whatever. My oldest son will be in the sixth grade. There are still fights, in calling the children 'spic', 'Mexican' or 'nigger', or what not. There is a certain amount of this."

Most rural Chicanos are raised in areas where few blacks live. When these Chicanos move to urban areas they often live for a while in black neighborhoods and often compete with blacks for jobs.[7]

Several of the persons who were interviewed suggested that some Chicanos might harbor prejudice against black persons. For example, speaking of race relations in his city, a young adult Chicano in Houston said:

> "They are good, especially when you compare it to the Valley. I mean the Chicanos in the Valley make me sick because they are so racist. All you hear is nigger, nigger, nigger. But here, I guess Mexicans are the smaller of the two minorities; we have to hang around with them for strength. My cousin goes around with a black guy. A lot of kids mix in."

Another Chicano in Texas said:

> "I almost killed my sister because she wanted to go with a black guy. And my father is from the old school of the Chicano culture. Sometimes the grown-ups try to create friction. My cousin was going around with a black guy. And because most of the adults subscribe to the old school of the Chicano culture, they were saying, 'of all the families in this town to be mixed up with niggers!' But these are the older people."

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Occasionally the members of one Spanish-surname group are discriminated against by those of another Spanish-surname group. For example, an educational consultant in New Mexico said:

> "Well, the northern part of the state where you have the Spanish-Americans, it is a different kind of ethos. There you have Spanish-American teachers, Spanish-American administrators who are sell-outs; and the other, the less experienced and less-educationally advantaged Mexican-Americans are kept in 'their place'. So you have one kind of discrimination, of kind against kind."

Migrant agricultural workers are often subject to this type of discrimination. For example, a counselor with a migrant program in Colorado said:

> "The people in the Valley — they don't like these [migrant workers] because they claim to be high-class Spanish, and they don't like these people coming in and intermingling with

their daughters, even though they've both got Spanish last names, you know. They don't want 'em working with them, alongside with them even though they're both in the fields. They don't want 'em drinking in the same bar with them even though they're both drinking from the same dirty glasses. They think they're too good for these people. And that's my opinion because I've seen it done; I know how it is. And they're not welcome at all."

Like other rural residents, rural Chicanos believe that there is discrimination against rural areas. A researcher in New Mexico said:

"Some of the highest frustration levels I've encountered have been with rural people who feel they are forgotten. They see the urban areas getting a great deal of attention and money, and they get discouraged. Particularly, it is even greater if you're working with minority groups -- Indians, Mexican-Americans, rural blacks -- because they feel a double kind of discrimination."

Economic Environment

Availability of Jobs

As is true of other rural regions, the rural Southwest suffers from a lack of employment opportunities. The few job openings that become available are usually not attractive to young people. As a result, rural youth are forced to seek employment in urban areas.

An employment service official in rural New Mexico said:

> "There is nothing here that we can offer the youth; nothing here in jobs. Okay, we have a job. How much will he get paid here? You go to the bank here, you have come out of high school, even college, they will start you at $1.60 an hour, that's all. It takes two, three years to get $1.75. I mean, these are facts, so what does our youth do? . . . [he goes] to Albuquerque because [he knows he] will get $2.00 an hour over there."

And the director of a training program in rural Texas said:

> "No matter how many kids go to college, only a certain percent is going to stay here. I mean not all the kids are going to stay to be school teachers, you know. And actually that would be the only job available. Either that or be doctors, lawyers, but the town is not that big."

Many rural residents see economic development as the solution to the community's problems. For example, the same training program director quoted above said:

> "What we need here is industry, man; that's what we need. A lot of the industries stay in San Antonio, and don't come to the rural sections. I don't think that's right -- for all the people to leave town because there are no jobs. One big factory would take care of all of the people around this part of the country close to our area."

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A school official in a small Texas town said:

> "Essentially, I don't think anything can be accomplished until they start doing some activity -- some kind of work trying to attract industry into the area -- different companies. The labor force is there, the land is there; all they need are these companies to come down."

A school board member in a rural Texas town said:

> "The jobs in town are always filled because there have always been workers, and when one gets a job like that, they don't leave for the rest of their lives. And they don't pay well, almost nothing. At the _____ store, you can work for $36.00 a week. So that is about $.86 an hour for about 50 or 60 hours a week. So that there aren't any jobs."

A female college student from a small town in Texas emphasized that the lack of jobs for women is even more acute:

> "I went to the Employment Commission and they don't help you. You fill out a card. They say it's going in our files; we'll call you. ...They have jobs, but they aren't doing what they are supposed to be doing. ...When there is a job, it goes to the guys."

Our research in other rural areas has indicated that employers frequently hire only those persons who they think come from the "right families". A Chicano in a small city in Texas described the problem:

> "A lot of Mexicanos, the reason they can't get a job is because in this size community, it is just at the size where whether or not you get a job depends on who your parents know. If your father knows the editor, he gets the inside scoop on a job opening, and he is going to give it to his kids. So the same established families are getting the same jobs. There aren't any Mexicanos who you would call part of the establishment. So there are a lot of Mexicanos that are just left out, because the jobs go to the sons, daughters, cousins, nephews of the people who control the town."

Typically, agricultural jobs have been open to Chicano youth. However, these opportunities appear to be disappearing too. The director of a training program in New Mexico said:

> "The farm situation has really changed drastically because of technology. These kids that used to be able to go to a farmer -- a lot of times people will say, well, 'when I was their age I could just go down to the farm. These people just don't want to work'. That's not the case any more. They have cotton pickers now to take care of all that; we can't send all these kids to a farm. The farmers won't give them jobs. Technology has wiped all those jobs out."

And even where mechanization is not the problem, other factors act to reduce the demand for agricultural jobs. For example, a school board chairman in rural Texas said:

> "There aren't jobs; only the ones in agriculture -- farm labor -- and only a few. One thing that can't be helped is that more and more farmers aren't producing vegetables; they are now producing cows. The have cows on all the farms so that they don't need any more labor workers."

A number of writers have contended that the solutions to rural problems of the Southwest potentially lie in the rural areas themselves[20, 29,40,55,104,121]. Grebler[40] notes "a growing general sentiment that it may be more productive to spend money on making rural areas more attractive to potential outmigrants than to spend it on the costly and difficult problem of providing for new migrants to the cities". A recent Department of Labor report[121] stated that the "environmental" advantages of the countryside should be exploited and rural employment opportunities expanded. Steiner[104] cites a national opinion poll showing that most people who have jobs in urban areas would prefer to live in the country if jobs were available there.

Of course, economic development of a rural community may not be of much benefit to Chicanos living in that community. Typically, the fruits

of successful economic development have gone first to Anglos and only secondarily to other ethnic groups. However, the awakening political awareness of Chicanos in the Southwest has led to situations where the benefits of society (and of such activities as economic development) are felt more directly by the Chicano.

A counselor in a small city where Chicanos had recently gained political control said:

> "But things are changing. There are more opportunities now, because one never heard before about a job that paid $10,000 a year -- a lot of money. Where are you going to get $10,000? Before, the most you could earn was $5,000 if you were well paid. And now here there are some teachers that are paid $10,000 -- teachers, administrators that are here. And before, nothing for Chicanos."

Because of the lack of employment opportunities in rural areas, it is hypothesized that:

> 4. Rural youths are not able to find suitable employment in their home community and have to migrate to urban areas to get a job.

Previous research in rural areas of the North Central states has suggested that older rural residents tend to compete with rural youth for entry-level jobs. If that is the case, then relatively fewer youths will leave rural communities where the population is relatively younger. Thus, it is hypothesized that:

> 5. The proportion of rural youths who leave the rural community is related to the age structure of the community: the older the average age, the larger the percentage of outmigrant rural youths.

The guidelines for current programs for rural youth assume that part-time employment in nonfarm jobs in the rural areas will positively affect the later occupational adjustment of these youths in urban jobs. This was not verified in our study of rural youth in the North Central states. However, in this study we tested the hypothesis that:

6. Rural Spanish-surname youth who have part-time nonfarm jobs while in high school make a better occupational adjustment than similar youth who do not have such jobs.

In addition to determining the effect such work experience may have on the subsequent occupational and social adjustment of Spanish-surname rural youth, it is important to determine what factors in the rural areas are associated with a youth's having had this type of work experience. Previous research has suggested that the opportunity for this work experience decreases as the isolation of the youth's community increases. Thus, it is hypothesized that:

7. The opportunity for high-school age rural youths to obtain part-time nonfarm work is inversely proportional to the distance from a metropolitan center.

8. The opportunity for part-time nonfarm employment is directly related to the size of the town in which the rural youth lives.

9. The proportion of rural youths who have had part-time nonfarm work experience is inversely related to the average age of the population in the county.

Also, because the interviews suggest that the few nonfarm jobs available for young persons in rural areas are usually filled by youths from families that employers view as "better" families, it is hypothesized that:

10. Proportionately more Anglo than Spanish-surname youths have had part-time nonfarm jobs during high school.

11. Rural children from low-income families have had less opportunity for part-time nonfarm employment than those from higher-income families.

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Income and Standard of Living

The 1970 census of population[113] indicates that a disproportionate percentage of Mexican-American persons in the five Southwestern states are below the low-income level*; 29.4 percent of all Mexican-Americans, in contrast to 11.3 percent of the Anglos in these states, were low-income.

Income figures may be more meaningful in individual terms. According to Steiner[104], recent figures show that migrants average just over $1,100 per year for field labor. According to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights[119], in 1969 over half of all rural Spanish-surname families had incomes below $3,000. In 1966 Rogers[93] gave the average annual per capita income in Starr County, Texas, a rural county near the Mexican border, as $534. In 1967 Scott[100] reported a median family income of $2,468 in her study of Spanish-Americans in rural Atascosa County, Texas.

In 1966 it was reported that hourly wages for seasonal and agricultural workers ranged from a low of $.35 to a high of $1.75; and $.75 or $.80 an hour "has been considered normal in the South Central states"[99]. To survive, whole families of Spanish-speaking agricultural workers generally work together, including at least the teenagers, and sometimes younger children as well.

Many writers have commented about the low standard of living that is characteristic of the Spanish-surname population, particularly with respect to housing. According to 1960 census figures, Spanish-speaking persons are more apt to rent their homes, to live in lower quality housing and to be overcrowded than are Anglos[11,99]. This holds true over the whole range of incomes for the Spanish-surname population[40], probably because, typically, families are large.

*The low-income level (formerly called the "poverty level") is adjusted for family size and other factors. In 1970 the low-income level for a nonfarm family of four was $3,968.

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In discussing this point during an interview, the principal of a school in rural Texas said:

> "Seventy percent of our kids come out of poverty homes, and I don't know what our government knows about poverty. I mean, little one-room houses where there are 12 and 13 people living -- some of them older people, some middle group, some young; some married, some single. They see everything. There is no money in this home. Why this child -- the thing that we can't make him understand is getting him to better himself. ...We can keep him 9 or 10 years, sometimes 11, and he quietly drops out. This child has been told a million times 'you can't do anything without a high school education and we will help you any way we can'."

In recent years many programs have sought to intervene in a presumed "cycle of poverty", particularly among members of minority groups. "Cycle of poverty" refers to a presumed pattern in which young adults from low-income families tend to be unemployed or to hold low-income jobs to a greater extent than young adults who grew up in more affluent families. It is not clear, however, that poverty in itself is the reason that low-income children tend to become low-income adults; no study has proved a causal relationship. In general, it can be shown that children from low-income families drop out of school earlier, are more likely to be from minority groups,and have other characteristics that make them unable to obtain better paying jobs than those from families with higher incomes. Thus, there may be an indirect relationship between being poor and having a low level job, in which factors such as educational level act as intervening variables. Therefore, it is important to know whether: 1) there is a relationship, among rural Chicano youth, between the income level of the family and their later occupational success; and 2) there are identifiable factors (such as education level) that are related systematically to both family income level and later occupational success, and that thus might act as intervening variables that might explain the apparent relationship that has been called a "cycle of poverty". Such information would allow a model program to be designed which would serve rural Chicano youth by effectively disrupting this cyclical phenomenon. Thus it is hypothesized that:

12. Spanish-surname rural youth from relatively poor families are more likely to be poor themselves (unemployed or in low-income jobs) than are similar youth from families that are relatively better off.

Especially among Mexican-Americans, there is frequently assumed to be a positive relationship between a child's performance in school and his family's standard of living[10]. Knowledge of the strength of this relationship should be part of the basis of a model program for rural Chicano youth. Thus, it is hypothesized that:

13. There is a stronger relationship among Spanish-surname youth than among Anglo youth between family income and completing high school.

14. There is a stronger relationship among Spanish-surname youth than among Anglo youth between family income and post-secondary education.

Also, because previous research has suggested that family income may have an effect on tendency of rural youth to migrate to urban areas, it is hypothesized that:

15. Among rural youths who do not attend college, the tendency to migrate to urban areas is inversely related to family income.

Occupational Status

Unemployment rates are high among Mexican-Americans. Those who do find jobs are overrepresented in low-status, low-paying occupations and underrepresented in high-status, high-paying jobs[2,20,22,40,44,46,47,58,99]. A 1970 census report[113] has figures for the total Mexican-American population of the United States by occupational category. In 1970 only 18.2 percent of Mexican-American workers, in contrast with 43.9 percent of Anglos,

were white-collar workers; 9.9 percent of Chicano workers were employed in professional or managerial occupations, in contrast to 20.6 percent of Anglos; and 8.4 percent were in clerical or sales occupations, in contrast to 13.2 percent of Anglos. About 20 percent of both categories were craftsmen, but more Chicanos were operatives -- 27.7 percent of Chicano workers but only 17.6 percent of Anglos. Mexican-Americans were overrepresented in farm and nonfarm laborer occupations; 8.2 percent (1.5 percent of Anglos) were farm laborers and 15.0 percent (5.9 percent of Anglos) were nonfarm laborers.

Thus, it is hypothesized that:

16. Spanish-surname rural youth are employed in lower-paying jobs than Anglo rural youth.

Between 1950 and 1960, the proportions of Spanish-surname people in farm and nonfarm labor declined while the percentage of those in higher status occupations increased. Nonetheless, in rural ares of the Southwest 46 percent of the Spanish-surname males were working as farm laborers in 1960; only 15 percent of the total male rural population in these states were farm laborers. About half of the employed Spanish-surname persons were working in agricultural, forestry or fishing occupations[58].

Because of the overall decline in the rural Spanish-surname population[104], and in the rural population in general, these figures suggest that the extent of rural-to-urban migration of those in higher status occupations were considerably greater than for those in lower status (unskilled) jobs. The decrease in the number of agricultural workers also reflects factors other than outmigration -- the cutback of grazing permits by the National Forest Service in New Mexico, the increased mechanization in agriculture, and an overall decrease in the number of farms[37,104]. Steiner[104] maintains that unemployment rates are especially deceptive in the very depressed rural areas. For example, in Taos County, New Mexico, the official unemployment rate was 17 percent in 1965; but a house-to-house check revealed that nearly half of the adult villagers were jobless and seeking work.

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Thus, it is hypothesized that:

17. Rural youths who migrate to the city are employed in higher-paying jobs than those who remain in the rural area.

Previous research in rural areas has indicated that the wide wage differential between urban areas and rural areas is a major influence on rural outmigration. This research has demonstrated that even though entry-level wages in one rural county may be comparatively higher than in another rural county, urban entry-level wages overshadow both. Thus, rural-to-urban rather than rural-to-rural migration occurs. This evidence suggests the following hypotheses:

18. Outmigration of rural youth occurs with equal frequency from rural counties with comparatively high and with comparatively low entry-level wage rates.

19. Most rural outmigrants migrate to urban, rather than to rural, areas.

PART II -- RURAL SPANISH-SURNAME YOUTH IN THE SOUTHWEST AND THEIR EDUCATION

Characteristics of Rural Spanish-Surname Youth In The Southwest

Intelligence Test Scores

A sample of rural California Mexican-American children from preschool through twelfth grade[77] fell behind normative patterns for perceptual-motor development as they progressed through school. Other studies cited in the literature are not specifically rural studies but do provide some indication of the special cognitive problems experienced by children who are not fluent in English.

Barnes[9] noted that the average Mexican-American child scores 80 on standard IQ tests (mean 100, standard deviation 16), but pointed out that language differences, the noncompetitive values, and the differing time orientations of Spanish-surname children work against high scores.

A number of studies (including a recently published volume, entitled Educating the Mexican American[52]) have shown that teacher expectations are affected by the teacher's knowledge of a student's IQ score. In turn, the child's performance is affected by the teacher's expectation. Thus, the low intelligence test scores of Spanish-surname children may be related more to social, linguistic or psychological characteristics than to innate deficiencies in ability.

These findings lead to the hypothesis that:

20. Standard IQ measures yield a lower average score for Spanish-surname youths than for Anglo youths.

The suggestion that teacher expectations lead to differential effects on the pupil's performance leads to the hypothesis that:

21. In schools where standard IQ measures are used, Spanish-surname youths receive lower grades (rank lower in their class) than in schools where such measures are not used.

Motivation and Self-Image

Some writers suggest that the rising aspirations of Mexican-American youth are related to urbanization. However, there is also some indication that the aspiration levels of rural Chicano youth are rising as well[28,46,53,101,130,132]. Four studies[53,101,130,132] have concluded that rural high-school-age Mexican-American youth have high occupational aspirations; however, according to both Juarez[53] and Wright[132], these youths have lower occupational expectations than Anglo youths. Scott[101] suggests that rural Mexican-American youths desire to work in high-level occupations but feel that their high goals are not likely to be attained.

The search for identity common to all adolescents may be especially painful to a Mexican-American child whose aspirations may differ from his parents', his teachers' and even his own expectations of what he can achieve[5,15,40,77]. It has been suggested[15] that the implication in the school setting that the Spanish language and culture are inferior creates a feeling of worthlessness in the Mexican-American child. Anderson and Safar[5] concluded, on the basis of findings of their study of two rural communities, that such feelings of inferiority tend to be accepted by Mexican-American children. These studies suggest the hypothesis that:

22. Spanish-surname youth who attend schools where the Spanish language and Chicano culture are suppressed do not make as good an occupational and social adjustment as similar youth who attend schools which encourage Spanish language and Chicano culture.

Dworkin[27] found that the self-concepts of foreign-born Mexican-Americans were more favorable than those of the American-born. This lends credence to the suggestion that negative self-concepts are born out of culture conflict. This is in line with the views of those who maintain that

the resurgence of ethnic consciousness that is symbolized by the "brown" awareness is providing some Mexican-American youth with a means of deriving an integrated identity(40,48).

The point was stressed in several of the interviews. For example, a welfare caseworker in New Mexico said:

> "Well, I think one of the things would be the Chicano movement, where people are getting more pride in their origin; and they're able to come up and say, 'Well, you can't push us around. We're people too'. And then they're telling the kids, 'It's pretty good to be able to speak Spanish'. It's their own pride that's helping."

An educational consultant in New Mexico said:

> "In New Mexico, the difference is in the way the people view themselves. In the north if you ask somebody what he is, he will tell you he is Spanish-American. If you're across the line in Colorado, he will tell you he is Hispano. Down here, Mexican-American or Mexican. The youngsters of all groups will call themselves Chicanos; but it is not a term common with the older people."

An Employment counselor in Los Angeles said:

> "I think in the past -- it is changing now -- but the self-concept was negative. Because in school you're taught not to speak Spanish; now it's changing. People are beginning to pronounce their names the way it should be. They're beginning to admit they're Mexican; proud to say things like that. Before, they couldn't. And at a psychological level this helps because they feel comfortable about who they are."

The Educational System of the Rural Southwest

The Language Barrier. Most of the literature concerning the education of the Spanish-surname children deals with their "bilingualism" or "language handicap". The problem may be viewed in two ways: that the

child is not fluent in English, or that the schools do not teach him in Spanish. A great many writers[15,16,20,40,44,47,48,49,52,56,61,76,77,96,99,104,125] have been highly critical of the repressive approach often taken by the schools, in which the use of Spanish [or any language other than English] is discouraged or forbidden; they state that this practice has usually resulted in "illiterates in two languages". These writers favor the gradual introduction of English as a secondary language in the primary grades.

Knowlton[56] and Rowan[96] have pointed to studies showing that mastery of one's native language is necessary for adequate learning of another language. Other writers[15,20,40,44,49,76,99,104] point to the detrimental psychological effects of the implication that one's native language is inferior. Samora[99], for example, maintains that the term "language handicap" has been used to justify educational discrimination and segregation. It is generally agreed, however, that bilingual education programs are rare and that teachers qualified to teach them are even more rare[20,44,47,48,49,76,99,104].

It is hypothesized that:

23. Those Spanish-surname rural youth who are enrolled in bilingual eduation programs make a better occupational and social adjustment than those who are not enrolled in such programs.

General Quality of the Rural Educational System. Little has been written specifically about the general quality of education for rural Spanish-surname youths. Grebler[40], in his general survey of the Mexican-American people, notes "moderate progress" between 1950 and 1960 in narrowing the educational gap between Anglos and Mexican-Americans. He says tht programs and curricula built around Mexican culture are being developed, but maintains that the views that educators hold about Mexican-American children and their cultural heritage are either limited or out of date. Many of the teachers whom he interviewed in the Southwest use teaching manuals that describe the traditional cultural or family roles of the Mexican

population, and believe that these roles account for a child's failure in school. This often leads to the development of remedial or compensatory programs that may placate the concerned public without actually providing Mexican-American children with an education that is comparable to that received by Anglo children.

Heller[47] characterizes the present situation as one in which children are not prepared at home for school experiences, and the schools are not prepared to receive the children at their own experiential level. Knowlton[56] and Clapp[22] agree that in general the schools of the Southwest have not recognized the cultural heritage of Spanish-surname people[12], and that efforts to integrate this heritage into the curricula have been superficial.

For migrant children the general quality of education is quite poor[11,96,99]. Because these children do not live in the same community for the entire school year, the school systems argue that it is difficult to make arrangements to accommodate them. In some cases migrant children are segregated in separate classes[96]. School attendance laws, where they do exist, are seldom enforced for migrant children. Teenage children, in particular, are usually employed as field laborers, at least during the growing season from early spring until late fall[61,96].

A number of writers[28,61,107] have suggested that the education of rural Spanish-surname youth would be greatly improved by increased expenditures and by smaller student/teacher ratios. Thus, it is hypothesized that:

24. There is a positive relationship between a rural Spanish-surname youth's occupational adjustment and the expenditure per pupil in his high school.

25. There is a negative relationship between a rural Spanish-surname youth's occupational adjustment and the student/teacher ratio in his high school.

The Teachers. Very little has been written about teachers of rural children of Spanish-surname. Heller[47] cites a study by Horacio Ulibarri in which teachers were found to have little awareness of the cultural factors affecting the behavior of Spanish-surname children. Heller adds that teachers often regard assignment to a Mexican-American district as something akin to punishment. Romero[94] reported that some teachers of Spanish-American students do express awareness of sociocultural differences between Mexican-American and Anglo children. He added, however, that this awareness could well be based upon stereotypes that have no relationship to the actual children in these teachers' classes.

A recent study of ethnic isolation of Mexican-American students and staff members in the Southwest[118] revealed that they are severely segregated by school district. Also, Mexican-Americans are underrepresented among teachers and school board members. A Chicano college student from rural Texas stressed these same points:

> "Where I was in high school I had two Spanish teachers that were Mexican-American. Mr. ____ got tired of the kids or something and moved to a different town. He is a teacher over there. Mr. ____ went back to A & I and got his Masters. They've always had the token one or two teachers here, so they can't say there is no Mexicanos here. But they leave because they are really not wanted and they know it."

Because teachers who are Mexican-Americans will be aware of the cultural factors affecting the performance of Chicano youth, it is hypothesized that:

> 26. Rural Spanish-surname youth who attend schools with a relatively high proportion of Spanish-surname teachers will make a better occupational adjustment than those who attend schools with a relatively low proportion of Spanish-surname teachers.

Various characteristics of the teacher could be related to success of the students. These characteristics include level of education, amount

of teaching experience, area in which teacher lived, certification of teacher, relevance of teacher's major field of study, ethnic background, and linguistic ability. This possibility leads to the following hypotheses:

27. There is a positive relationship between the degree of training of teachers in a school and the occupational adjustment of Spanish-surname youth who attended that school.

28. There is a positive relationship between the amount of teaching experience of teachers in a school and the occupational adjustment of Spanish-surname youth who attended that school.

29. For those Spanish-surname rural youth who migrate to a city, there is a positive relationship between their occupational and social adjustment and the degree to which their teachers have experienced city living.

30. Spanish-surname rural youth who attended a school where a relatively high proportion of teachers were certified make a better occupational adjustment than those who attended a school where a relatively low proportion of teachers were certified.

31. Spanish-surname rural youth who attend schools where a relatively high proportion of teachers speak Spanish make a better occupational and social adjustment than those who attend schools where that proportion is relatively low.

Curriculum. The literature is generally critical of the curricula offered to Mexican-American schoolchildren; there is less agreement about what would be suitable or relevant to offer them. Some writers believe that a relevant curriculum would be vocationally oriented. Several of the people interviewed, however, differed with this point of view. For example, a Chicano member of a rural Texas school board said:

> "When you get to high school that's when they really kill you. They put you in vocational programs and they begin telling you that you will be a nobody; that it would be a good idea to be a plumber or a trucker or a barber instead of a doctor or a lawyer or an engineer. And they begin putting you in programs that don't have any future. So you finish school or you end up as a flunkie, and the Gringo gets out with a scholarship, information on colleges, and all that, and good grades. And with the Mexican, it's all the opposite. He gets out with low grades, without any inspiration, without any interests and without any direction."

And a youth program counselor in rural Texas said:

> "We need new, innovative methods of keeping the youngsters in school and not advising them on taking a preference of the technical schools or vocations. True, some of them have to go into vocational fields, but right now the Mexican-American need is not in vocation fields. We need professionals in order to be identified as a successful ethnic group. And before we can obtain equality we have to prove ourselves to ourselves and to everyone else."

In general, writers[11,47,61,77,91,96] have urged that school districts develop curricula that are more attuned to the actual backgrounds and aspirations of the Mexican-American students in the district. This would include gearing curricula at all grade levels to the experience of the children, and using familiar subjects or Spanish literature as a cultural bridge[11,77].

Our interviews with school leaders suggest that this ideal has not yet been accomplished in rural schools in the Southwest. These rural schools do vary greatly in the degree to which they recognize that the curriculum of the past has been irrelevant to the daily experience of the Chicano pupil. However, the usual action that is taken by the more "progressive" schools is to develop courses in Chicano history or Chicano culture. This action, of course, does little to make the standard curriculum more relevant to the children's experiences. It may, however, increase the

child's feelings of self-worth to the point where some measurable positive effect may result. Therefore, it is hypothesized that:

> 32. Rural Spanish-surname youth who attended a school where Chicano history and culture were taught make a better occupational and social adjustment than those who attended a school where Chicano history and culture were not taught.

Counseling. Most of the material that is written about the counseling of Mexican-American students does not apply specifically to rural areas. One exception is the Anderson and Safar[5] study of two rural communities, in which people of the community generally tended to believe that Spanish-surname students were not given the same degree of encouragement that was given to their Anglo classmates[47].

Heller and Rowan[96] found that Mexican-American students are usually guided into vocational or "practical" programs rather than academic programs, often on the basis of IQ scores that may be incorrectly interpreted as signs of limited ability.

Counselors and school administrators are not required to study a curriculum that deals specifically with Mexican-American children[11].

Interviewee responses about counseling focused on the characteristics of the counselor and on the orientation of most counselors to serving college-bound students. A researcher in New Mexico said:

> "Counseling and guidance is very little in rural areas. Almost invariably it will be a part-time endeavor by a teacher who has another job assignment. Another criticism in counseling and guidance in the rural areas is it is almost all college guidance. I think this is a valid criticism."

And a college student from rural Texas described what he regarded as a typical response of a Chicano family to an Anglo counselor:

"If they see an Anglo counselor coming to the house they would be polite to him, offer him a chair. But as soon as he left, they wouldn't read the papers he left or anything. I think it would take a Mexicano to get them to sit down and fill out the papers."

Our previous research on rural youth has shown a wide range of variation in the schools' use of counselors and in counselors' characteristics. However, this same research has failed to show any consistent relationship between these variables and subsequent adjustment of rural youth. Such relationships may be found in the Southwest, however. Therefore, the following hypotheses will be tested:

33. For rural Spanish-surname youth who do not go to college, the presence or absence of a trained counselor in their school is not related to occupational adjustment.

34. Rural Spanish-surname youth who graduate from a school having no trained counselor are less likely to go to college than those who graduate from schools having such counselors.

35. Rural Spanish-surname youth who attend a high school having no trained counselor are no less likely to drop out of school than those who attend a high school having a trained counselor.

36. There is a positive relationship between the occupational adjustment of rural Spanish-surname youth from a particular school and the degree to which that school provided occupational information to its students.

Response of Rural Spanish-Surname Youth to the Educational System

Attitudes and School Performance. No specific statistics were found in the literature regarding the college enrollment of rural Chicano youth. College enrollment does appear to be increasing[37,81], although college enrollment rates for Chicanos are still well behind those for

Anglos. Graham[39] contends that migrants' values with respect to education are essentially in terms of practical vocational goals -- goals that could improve their career opportunities in mechanized agriculture, auto mechanics, or other fields. Heller[47], however, maintains that some Mexican-American children take industrial or vocational courses simply because this is "the line of least resistance".

It has been suggested that, because Chicano youth see vocational education programs as being more relevant, these programs will also be more motivating to them. However, Ulibarri[108] suggests that the real problem may not be so much that they lack motivation as that they lack confidence in their ability to succeed in school. Ramirez[86] cites several empirical studies which conclude that Mexican-American students have attitudes about education that are significantly more unfavorable than those expressed by Anglo-Americans.

Dropouts. According to Newsweek magazine[49], over half of the Mexican-American boys and nearly half of the Mexican-American girls do not continue beyond the eighth grade of school.

The dropout problem is worse in the rural areas[37,40,105]. Gonzalez[37] points out that averages can mask increasing disparities in rural enrollment. She cites a 1962 study of Rio Arriba and Taos Counties in northern New Mexico, which reported that from 1952 to 1962 the number of school children in the area increased but the proportion enrolled in schools decreased. The low enrollment in rural areas can be partly explained by the fact that the teenage children of migrant farm workers often drop out of school to work in the fields with their parents[40].

The younger Mexican-Americans are more likely to have completed high school than the older ones[22,40,47]. Moore[71] indicates that there has been a general decrease in Mexican-American dropout rates relative to Anglo rates, but that this is less characteristic of rural areas. Particularly among rural farm people, there is much less progress from generation to generation in terms of educational attainment. She feels that one reason for this is that the local power structure in rural areas

is unwilling to invest in education that might lead to outmigration and thus drain the rural labor supply.

In the interviews, many of the respondents stressed the dropout problems as being particularly acute among rural Chicano youth. Many respondents stated that the problem was particularly serious in the pre-high school population. For example, the director of a youth center in rural New Mexico said:

> "The kids are more impressionable in junior high. If they have trouble at home then that's when they start having their troubles and difficulties in school. I feel that's one reason they drop out more at the junior high and lower grade levels than in the upper grades. Usually, if any kid makes it to the 11th grade he'll go ahead and graduate more than likely; and usually they'll drop out before the 10th grade."

And a high school counselor in rural Texas said:

> "We don't have too many dropouts in high school. ...We lose them before they get here -- in the 8th or 9th grade."

That these youth compose a significant portion of the rural-to-urban migrants was made clear by the director of a training program in Denver. He said:

> "Most of the kids who come here from rural areas are dropouts. A few graduate. Eighth-grade dropouts -- it creates a problem."

Many of the respondents discussed the reasons that rural Spanish-surname youth drop out of school. A Chicano member of a rural Texas school board said:

> "Before, the majority of them left because they didn't like school; they didn't like what others were doing to them in the school. The discrimination, the injustice, beating them, throwing them out, treating them bad and making fun of them. And also because of the money. Many families couldn't afford to have four or five guys in school when they

could be working and making money in the spring up North. I think that these things are changing a little. There are many Mexican teachers in the programs especially for the Mexicans; there is a lot of interest in the study. It doesn't pay much for the migrant to take the kid out of school because there aren't any jobs. The more there are in the family, the harder it is to find a job for every one of them. So only one or two of the family work and not all of them leave; and if they leave they come when they should come from studying. The problem now is there aren't many school districts that are doing this kind of change, [so] the problem of the dropout continues."

A Chicano counselor in a rural Texas school system said:

"I think that the dropout rate here is more because of over-age kids in the grades. They probably started school unable to speak English, were retained in first grade and maybe later on because of migration and missing too much school, missed another two or so years and had to be retained. By the time they are in the 8th grade or 9th grade they are 17 or 18 -- too old to be with that age group. They feel they are too old. It might be economic; probably [they are] needed in the family to help support it -- bring in a little money. Scholastic barrier -- a lot of them feel they aren't as good students as the mainstream of students in the class -- behind two or three years in level of reading. They can't compete."

The same counselor indicated that the problem was particularly acute among youth whose families worked as migrant agricultural workers. He said:

"If we could ever get these labor laws enforced it would help. We have kids come in after Thanksgiving and claim they were working in New Mexico and Nebraska. We tried to find out who was employing them, 14- and 15-year-old kids. Somebody was hiring those kids to work all day long, but we couldn't find out; we tried. We were going to write the Department of Labor and tell them whoever was employing them was keeping them from going to school."

Several of the respondents discussed what happens to these youth after they drop out. The director of an employment program in a rural Texas town said:

> "The work on odd jobs; work here, work there, you know. Some kids are drawing unemployment, some of the kids from here go up North and work in Indiana or Illinois on construction companies for half of the year, and then when colder weather [comes] up there they get laid off. They come back to Texas, you know, the warmer climate. Some kids just don't work, other kids work in gas stations, groceries."

And an Employment Service counselor in New Mexico said:

> "Those kids that don't finish high school, that drop out of school -- if they go to the urban areas like Albuquerque, well, they can't compete in the labor market with the people in the city. They don't have the education, they don't have the training."

This information suggests the following hypotheses:

37. More Spanish-surname than Anglo rural youth drop out during high school.

38. Spanish-surname rural youth who drop out of school are more likely to leave their home communities than those who do not drop out.

39. Spanish-surname rural youth who drop out of school make a poorer occupational adjustment than those who do not drop out.

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PART III -- RURAL-TO-URBAN MIGRATION

Factors Related to Migration

Since 1900, the predominantly rural Spanish-surname population has become as urbanized as the Anglo population[2,99]. Several writers, however, have commented that few families willingly leave their villages[37,55,60,104]. Knowlton[55], Gonzalez[37] and Loomis[60] describe a rural-to-urban migration pattern in which departing villagers seek out a "nucleus" of other families from the village when they arrive in the city. Many of the families leave grandparents and young children behind in the villages.

In addition to this movement of families to urban areas, evidence indicates that Spanish-surname rural youth, like rural youth in other parts of the nation, are forced into the rural-to-urban migration stream soon after high school. Speaking of the students who have attended his school, a school superintendent in a small Texas town said:

> "Those that have any ambition leave; and those that just exist, stay. Of course, more of them would stay but the opportunity just isn't here."

Asked if many young people leave his county to find jobs in cities, a young man in Texas replied:

> "They more or less have to, if you want a good job. Unless you want to go out in the fields. The fields is about the only kind of work they've got around here and that too is going away."

For some young people, entering the armed forces appears to be an alternative. But for many this only delays the eventual move to the city. The director of a vocational school in rural New Mexico said:

> "Kids that have been in the army have changed a whole lot, too. Coming back from the army, they've seen beyond the rural area. When they come back, they stay around awhile and visit the family. But pretty soon, they've seen other areas and they move on: many of them move on."

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But it is not merely the attraction of these places "beyond the rural area" that lead to the rural-to-urban migration pattern. There is evidence to suggest that many characteristics of rural areas force young people to leave. For rural Spanish-surname youth, the lack of economic opportunity may be of major significance. In the counties that are particularly poverty-stricken there is little or no economic incentive to remain in the home community. Thus, it is hypothesized that:

> 40. The extent of the outmigration of noncollege bound youth from a rural county is related to median family income in that county.

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One area of economic endeavor that is particularly lacking in opportunity for Spanish-surname rural youth is that of farm or ranch ownership. In addition to the sociocultural barriers to such entrepreneurship by Chicanos, the capital investment required is such that even among youth whose families are comparatively well off, there is little opportunity.

Because of the close reliance of the economy of most rural small towns upon agriculture and services to farmers, the decreasing opportunities in farming are usually accompanied by decreasing opportunities in these small towns. Thus, some of the factors that are influential in the outmigration of farm youth affect the outmigration of nonfarm youth as well -- i.e., low wages in rural communities, excess of labor, expectations of higher wages in urban areas, availability of urban employment, and social factors. Thus, it is hypothesized that:

> 41. There is no difference between the outmigration rates of farm and nonfarm Spanish-surname youth from the same rural counties.

In previous research in other rural areas of the country it was found that the schools are often blamed for the rural-to-urban migration phenomenon. Evidently the same process occurs in the Southwest. As an educational consultant in New Mexico said:

> "What we find is a backlash in rural areas of parents saying 'What the rural schools do is educate my child to leave. And you must help in giving him some viable alternatives. I'm tired of having nothing but college or experiences away offered to him'."

This type of sentiment frequently keeps rural schools (and other rural institutions) from developing programs that would prepare rural youth to adapt to urban living. School administrators often feel that such programs would be interpreted as further attempts to push youths toward the city. However, such programs, if they have a positive effect on the later adjustment of the students, should be considered as a component of a model program for rural Chicano youth.

The rural area has been described by many writers as a better place to live than the city because of the generally more open and healthier surroundings. But others point out that, in general, rural people have poorer housing, public utilities, and schools, and less access to hospitals and medical doctors than urban dwellers. Thus, it is hypothesized that:

> 42. The tendency for rural youth to migrate from a rural community is proportional to the lack of essential facilities -- hospitals, medical doctors, dentists, opticians, and pharmacists -- in the community.

> 43. The outmigration rate among rural youth is inversely proportional to the availability of recreational facilities -- movie theaters, bowling alleys, swimming pools, adequate television reception, supper clubs, and golf courses -- in a community.

Our previous study of rural youth in the North Central states showed that, among noncollege high school graduates, young people with

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better high school grades were more likely to migrate to the city. Thus, it is hypothesized that:

> 44. Among rural Spanish-surname high school graduates who do not attend college, the tendency to migrate to urban areas is positively related to high school grades.

The same study also suggested that there would be only slight differences in educational level between rural-to-urban and urban-to-urban migrants. Thus, it is hypothesized that:

> 45. Level of education of rural migrants to large cities does not differ significantly from that of the same age and ethnic group of urban migrants to large cities.

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Social Adjustment of Rural-to-Urban Migrants

In speaking of the social adjustment of rural youths we are, of course, referring to the possible difficulty that rural youths may have in adapting to the urban way of life. The social adjustment of those who remain in the rural environment presents no more problems than it would for the urban youths who remain in the urban environment. Because of the prevailing migration patterns of rural youth to urban settings, many of the people whom we interviewed believed that social adjustment is one of the important problems faced by rural youth today.

Although the literature states that rural people who move to the city tend to have problems in making an adjustment, the picture that is painted is not one which would suggest the need for any special preparatory program in the rural community. The literature does not suggest that there is an acute social adjustment problem for migrant rural youths.

In contrast with the relative lack of emphasis placed on social adjustment in the literature, the people who deal on a firsthand basis with rural youths who move to the city see a different situation. As might be expected, many of the difficulties in social adjustment are associated with the sheer size of the metropolitan community, which contrasts so markedly with the small communities with which rural youths are familiar.

The Chicano rural-to-urban migrant may live in an Anglo section of the city to which he moves, in the downtown section of the city (e.g., in a YWCA or YMCA facility), or in the barrio. The barrio has been termed a kind of "urban village" by many observers[37,104]. Life in the barrio may actually be little different, in the sense of community relations, than it was in the rural area. Penalosa[81] maintains that with the development of Chicano pride and brown awareness, pride in the barrio subculture is also increasing. It may be, however, that the cohesiveness of the barrio is disintegrating; Grebler[40] maintains that interaction with Anglos is increasing, particularly in Los Angeles and particularly among middle-class Mexican-Americans.

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Gonzales[37] maintains that "the process by which rural immigrants become adjusted to urban life always includes a certain amount of acculturation to the way of life of the dominant ethnic group...". There are, in fact, some indications that the younger Mexican-Americans, in particular, have aspirations and motivations that are quite similar to those of Anglo youth[46,47,72,94]. Gonzales[37] also maintains that in New Mexico the rural-to-urban migrant rapidly learns the values of fluency in English and of success in school.

Weaver[126] asserts that recent rural-to-urban migrants may have accepted the goals of Anglo society, yet may have turned to deviant means of accomplishing these goals, as evidenced by higher crime rates among this group. Others have mentioned that the most recent migrants may even be ridiculed by other Chicanos[42,104].

Other factors have been mentioned by various authors[47,54,83,87,98] as being associated with successful adjustment to urban living. These include use of English, shedding of lower-class culture (as opposed to ethnic identity), state of health, achievement orientation, ability to cope with the developmental tasks of becoming established in urban life, education level, and previous occupational experiences.

The interviews that were conducted in both rural and urban areas mentioned many of these same factors. Several of the respondents mentioned the language problem. For example, a young Chicano who had migrated to Milwaukee from a small town in Texas said:

> "You come here and everybody is different because they don't speak Spanish. They speak only one language and you have to speak English all the time. The problem is that you are used to speaking Spanish with your family and friends, and then you come here and run into people who know only one language. Then, in the school -- it's hard. The classes aren't hard but the counselors and teachers -- they're all Anglos and don't speak Spanish. It's a whole lot easier to speak to, to relate to Chicano counselors."

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Several of the interviewees mentioned the lack of friendliness which they see as characteristic of the city dweller. For example, a counselor in a migrant program in Denver said:

> "They could go visiting without notice; everything was informal and if they had some visitors already and some more came it was still fine with them. That's not the way it is in the city. Here everybody expects you to have permission to come to visit. You know, 'Call before you come, to see if we are home, and if we're not doing anything else.' Everybody here lives in a continual rush. For the one who is used to the social life of a small town where everybody is friendly, everybody is gentle, it's very different. They feel very lonesome, like a foreigner in a new country. They're not very hospitable, they're more cold in the city than in the small town."

Several respondents indicated that this perceived unfriendliness intimidated recent rural-to-urban migrants. A Chicano youth who had migrated to a Northern city from rural Texas said:

> "In a city like this you feel lonesome, you feel that something is missing or that you're suffocating. You miss your old friends and you try to make new friends and it's very hard, because your old friends know you since you were little and here they hardly know you. And they don't want to let you be their friend."

Others suggested that recent immigrants are intimidated by other aspects of the urbanite, such as his dress. One counselor said:

> "City people dress better; there are more reasons to dress up than in the country. They put more emphasis in the clothing in the city, in the purchase of clothes than in the towns. Many are shy because there are so many people that seem to be better educated, better dressed, have more money, than people from small towns. They are afraid to talk to these kinds of people, with suits, for example; people that use words that, or a vocabulary that they are not familiar with."

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But, as one recent rural-to-urban migrant, remarked, the urban mode is often adopted by immigrants:

> "I remember when I first got here, I saw other Mexicans and I used to say 'Hi'. I was very friendly, and they never answered. Now I'm, if I see a Mexican and he doesn't speak to me first, I won't speak to him either. Before, I talked to them and didn't care if they didn't answer. People change; when you go back it's not the same."

Other respondents suggested more mechanical problems of social adjustment to urban living. These include problems with housing, shopping and public transportation.

A man in Denver who had been raised in a rural area of Texas said:

> "I find a lot of people don't go out of their house unless they have to. I think a lot of it is just isolation. They are scared. Like, I learned one way how to get to work and back home, one way to the grocery store, laundry, church. And I never roamed."

The following hypotheses are suggested by the information above:

46. Youths from rural areas who migrate to large metropolitan areas have greater adjustment problems than youths from small cities who migrate to large urban areas.

47. More rural-to-urban than urban-to-urban migrant youth continue to rely heavily on their home community for social adjustment.

48. More rural-to-urban than urban-to-urban migrant youths experience difficulty in making friends in the city.

49. More rural-to-urban than urban-to-urban migrant youth report a desire to return to their home communities.

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Many Spanish-surname youth spent a major portion of their lives traveling with their families in the migrant labor stream. Several interviewees suggested that this experience would be of value to those youths who subsequently migrated to the city. For example:

> "I find migrant kids much sharper than other rural kids. They got to travel. They learned. They were exposed to driving, going to weird cities. Even though there are, in a lot of ways, more obstacles to overcome."

Thus, it is hypothesized that:

> 50. Spanish-surname rural-to-urban migrants who have worked as migrant agricultural laborers make a better social adjustment to city life than similar youth who have not worked as migrant laborers.

Previous research with rural youth in the North Central states has indicated that, among rural-to-urban migrants, females are more apt to make an adequate adjustment to urban life than males. Thus, it is hypothesized that:

> 51. Spanish-surname rural males are more likely than are rural Spanish-surname girls to return to their home towns after a period of trying to make a living in the city.

This previous research also suggests the following hypotheses:

> 52. The degree to which rural youths experience social adjustment problems when they move to the city will be directly related to the relative isolation of the communities from which they come.
>
> 53. The social adjustment of an individual is directly related to the extent of his participation in extracurricular activities at school.
>
> 54. Social adjustment problems among rural youths who move to the city are less severe for those who have had some previous experience in living in the city.

55. Social adjustment problems among rural youths who move to the city are less severe for those who have visited several major cities, where they have spent one or more days.

56. Social adjustment problems among rural youths who move to the city are less severe for those who have participated in school activities that included regularly scheduled trips to a city.

57. Social adjustment problems among rural youths who move to the city are less severe for those who regularly visited a city to do the family shopping.

58. Social adjustment problems among rural youths who move to the city are less severe for those who lived in a county having adequate public transportation connecting the county with urban centers.

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Occupational Adjustment of Rural-to-Urban Migrants

Occupational adjustment is a major component of the total adjustment of the rural-to-urban migrant. Several writers [40,42,127,131] have noted a strong association between employment and adjustment to the demands of urban life. Many of those who were interviewed also emphasized this point. An employment counselor in Denver said:

> "The basic readjustment problems that we found -- the biggest one probably is the area of employment. You know, coming from a rural area they are probably skilled, if anything, in farm labor. Here in Denver, it's a pretty large-sized town, and they're dealing in skills. Most of the jobs in Denver are becoming highly skilled. So the first area they would have to deal with is to upgrade their skill [to] be able to compete for openings."

And a counselor in Milwaukee said:

> "The job is the biggest problem, especially if they have no intentions of going to college. ...They're not even familiar with what the metropolitan type life is or anything like that, you know. And I think -- well, they don't have enough with the vocational classes that they did get in high-school education. ...So, I would think that unless they would go to a vocational college or ... a regular college, I think the job situation is one of the biggest problems."

A model program for rural Chicano youth may have to concentrate on helping those youths acquire sufficient skills to compete in the city if, in fact, it can be shown that the youth lack the necessary skills.

Of course, some young people come to the city with unrealistically high expectations of what they can achieve there. As one employer in Denver said:

"They expect too much of the big city. They expect gold to be lying on the street and you just pick it up. Well there isn't any place in town where you don't have to work for it. There isn't any country like that. ...You've got to work for what you get. Nobody is going to give you nothing. They got the wrong idea. They have been working hard all their lives and they think the big city life is easy. ...That is exactly what they think. And when they have to drive an older car and not have as nice clothes -- the cost of living is way high up, compared to what they are used to. If they made where they came from what they make in the city, they would be wealthy people."

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The problem of not understanding the cost of urban living that was mentioned by the employer in Denver was clearly stated by the director of a vocational school in rural New Mexico. He said:

"Now, of course, one of the biggest problems is these kids are not aware of paying rent, for example, and things of that nature. They've lived with their parents all their lives. When they do get out and somebody offers them a job of $250 a month, then it looks like real big money to them because they've never seen anything that big. When they go to Albuquerque they have to pay $150 rent out of a $250 check; then they realize that in reality it's not that much money."

Several people who were interviewed suggested that occupational adjustment is affected by the same interpersonal problems that affect social adjustment. Speaking of rural Chicano youth who move to the city, an employer in Denver said:

"They stick together. They stick with their own. They don't mingle with anybody else. If you have two of them working here, then those two are like brothers all the time. They go to lunch together, they take coffee together. They ride to and from work together. They are scared to be alone. They feel inferior.

And an employment counselor in Milwaukee said:

> "Well, one difference I find is that people that come in from rural areas have a tendency to want to find employment right in the vicinity they're living [in]. They don't want to travel too far; they're afraid to get lost. This is not true in all cases. We have other people that are also migrants and they don't have problems in going a couple miles to the suburbs and finding employment. So it varies."

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It is hypothesized that:

59. More Chicano than Anglo rural-to-urban migrant youth report interpersonal problems in connection with occupational adjustment.

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